"In many places on the coast driftwood would supply the natives with a fair amount of fuel, if it were not deliberately avoided, as a rule, owing to the well-known Eskimo taboo against mingling products of the sea with those of the land. Driftwood comes from the sea, so caribou, and fish that are caught in rivers and lakes, like trout and salmon, must not be cooked over a driftwood fire. Seal-meat may, but seals supply their own fuel, while driftwood is scarce and impracticable in a snow hut. The Eskimos frequently helped us to collect spruce sticks from the beaches so that we could cook our own seal-meat in a tent, on top of an iron stove. They sometimes objected to our cooking caribou-meat when we were in their settlements on the ice, although we would point out that the taboos that applied to them were not equally applicable to us. Once too they protested against our using cottonwood for cooking seal-meat; they said it would cause the weather to become very cold. They have no scruples against cooking caribou-meat over a wood fire on land provided that the wood has not been washed up by the sea. Generally they made shavings of any wood they used, because the pot, having string handles, could not be suspended over the fire, but had to be set on a stone hearth, which left only a small space underneath for the fire. The taboo in regard to driftwood, however, seems to be dying out. Dolphin and Union strait Eskimos would not cook over a driftwood fire even the salmon that were caught migrating up the streams to the lakes, though they had come directly from the sea only an hour or two before; but their scruples broke down when some Tree river natives told them that it was done at the east end of Coronation gulf."

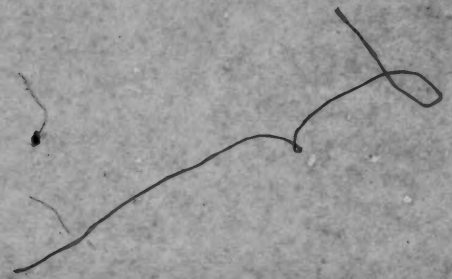
1: Jenness--168 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 784, 262

"Not only are there no taboos on the names of the dead, but, under ordinary circumstances, no taboos in respect to the killing or eating of any animal, bird or fish whenever a person happens to have the same name. Thus Taktu, 'Kidney,' would eat the kidney of either the seal or the caribou, and Tutsik had no scruples about eating the old-squaw duck, ahangik, though his own second name was Ahangik.(3)"

"3. Exceptions to this rule are given in the next chapter."

1: Jenness--111 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
784

"This migration marked the real opening of the winter life, for they began their sealing the very next day, although several more days elapsed before they had any success. It was forbidden to cook caribou and fish again until the spring, when the natives would return to the land, and the sewing of new deer-skins was tabooed until the sun should reappear about the middle of January."



1: Jenness--173 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 755, 784

"A woman must abstain from sewing, and usually from fishing and hunting, whenever her husband or brother is ill. A shaman sometimes enjoins on her certain food restrictions as well. Thus Higilak was forbidden to eat either the liver or the kidney of a seal when her brother Tusayok was ill. In this particular instance the prohibition was suggested by her second name Taktu (Kidney). Sometimes the malady itself suggests it, as when Ikpakhuak was forbidden to eat the stomach of the caribou when he himself was suffering from stomach trouble."

1: Jenness--182 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 784, 825

"Nature has ordained that certain animals shall live in the sea and others on the land. The Eskimo therefore must follow the same distinction, and keep the products of the two regions separate. He is a little vague as to who enforces the taboo. Sometimes he says that the animals themselves would be offended and avenge themselves on the trangressors, who would take offence, and wreak their vengeance by sending terrible storms or a plague of sickness and death, especially when the natives are living on the sea ice; at other times again it is a deity who dwells at the bottom of the sea and controls the supply of seals, or another living in the sky, or one of the many spirits that dwell in cliffs and tide-cracks and similar places, in so far as they have any fixed abode. But whatever the manner in which he thinks the taboo will be enforced, --and the same Eskimo will believe in every one of them-- there is no doubt whatever in his mind that punishment will inevitably follow disobedience. Woe betide the Eskimos if they fail to observe the due restrictions; sooner or later misfortune will overtake them in some form or another, and then the sin, however secret, is sure to come to light. Even if the wrong-doer does not confess immediately, as often happens, yet the shamans will soon discover his transgression when they invoke their familiar spirits and enquire into the cause of their misfortunes. Long ago certain people broke the taboo against cooking deer-meat on the ice, and the ice cracked up and every one was drowned. Such a result may happen again if the taboo be broken."

1: Jenness--182-183 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 784, 252

"The caribou and the seal are the two most important factors in the economic life of the natives. The one lives on land, the other in the sea, so the doctrine that the products of the two regions should be kept separate ought to apply more strictly to these two animals than to any others. As a matter of fact even in their case it is only partially observed. Thus seal-meat, raw, frozen or cooked, may be eaten at any time of the year, whether on the land or on the sea ice. In summer, of course, when the Eskimos are usually wandering inland, practically no seals at all are caught, but many are secured in the spring and autumn while the natives are living on the sea-shore; most of the meat is consumed at once on the coast, but a little is often taken inland. Caribou meat again may be eaten, raw or frozen, at any season and in any place; but it must not be cooked on the sea-ice. The natives may cook it on shore at any time, even on the very edge of the ice; some of them did not hesitate to cook it at the Liston and Sutton islands during the winter, though the shamans reproved them for it and attributed a series of blizzards to their violation of the taboo. The prohibition applies only to caribou killed in the previous summer and autumn, not to those that are secured in the winter, or in the early spring when the animals are migrating northward. It is hard to find any reason for this distinction. If the caribou migrating north across the ice in the spring are to be regarded as sea-animals for the time being, they should equally be so regarded in the autumn when they are migrating south again; but the

natives of west Coronation gulf and of Dolphin and Union strait observe the taboo in the one instance, and not in the other. Some of the people, however, were more scrupulous than others, for I noticed one family that would not cook fresh deer-meat on the ice in spring, though other families were doing it in the same camp. This particular family did not condemn the others; on the contrary, it thought it was probably quite legitimate to cook the meat, though it preferred to be on the safe side itself. Some Bathurst inlet natives said that the only deer-meat they refrained from cooking on the ice was meat that had been cached in stone cairns on the land; if meat of this kind were cooked, the cold stones, for some not very evident reason, would make the weather cold.

There is one taboo, however, that is universal in its application, and must not be broken on any account. Products of the land and of the sea must never be cooked in the same pot at the same time. Accordingly, when the natives are [183] living on the land and have stocks of both deer-meat and seal-meat, one is cooked in the morning and the other at night. Nevertheless, both kinds of food may be eaten at the same time; in fact the normal evening meal in the early part of the winter consists of boiled seal-meat and frozen venison. Mr. Stefansson states that 'some families said that caribou and seal-meat should not be cooked in the same pot unless the pot were suspended over the lamp by a fresh cord when the caribou meat was to be cooked; but most people paid no

attention to even this prohibition.' (1)

The polar bear is a sea animal, tarreomiutak, and must be treated like a seal. I wanted to fry some caribou liver on the same fire on which Higilak was boiling some bear-meat. She was not at all sure whether it was right to cook the two at the same time, the bear being a denizen of the sea and the caribou of the land. She asked her older brother Tusayok, but he did not know either. Finally I told her that as we had killed the bear on the land, it was plainly, in summer at least, a land animal; further, that I was a white man, and in consequence Eskimo taboos did not apply to me. The arguments seemed to satisy her, for she raised no further objection.

Similar taboo's, based on the same general principles, apply to the cooking of other animals and to fish. Thus tom-cod which are caught in the sea, may be cooked, like seals, on either land or ice; but fresh-water fish, even salmon migrating from the sea, must be cooked only on land. Some natives will not use driftwood thrown up by the sea for cooking either caribou or fish, but others pay no attention to this and use whatever fuel is most available."

"1. Anthrop. Papers, A. M. N. H., Vol. XIV, pt. I, p. 48; Cf. My Life with the Eskimo, p. 266."

1: Jenness--183 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 784, 391

"Mr. Stefansson says that seal blood is used for splicing arrows (2), but the natives told me that this was strictly tabooed, and whenever I saw them making or mending arrows they invariably used caribou blood, if they used blood at all. However, seal blood might be employed by a hunter who intended to use his arrows for shooting seals on the ice. It is only the blood of the seal that is tabooed in this connection, for the skin is always used for the back bracings of the bow."

"2. Anthrop. Papers, A.M.N.H., Vol. XIV, pt. 1, p. 92."

1: Jenness--183-184 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 784, 294

"Sewing as well as cooking is subject to the same general prohibitions. Thus sealskin may not be sewn at the fishing creeks while the salmon are running. I wanted a woman to sew up the ends of a sealskin dog-pack to make it waterproof. She was uncertain whether it was right to do it while the salmon were still migrating up the creek near which the natives were encamped, and on [184] asking an old man, was emphatically told that it was prohibited. Even at our station, four miles from the creek, she was afraid to sew some red sealskin bands on a dancing-cap, though I tried to assure her that it was not forbidden so far away. However, the natives have been compelled to modify this taboo in the case of their foot-gear, which at this season of the year, the late spring, requires mending every two or three days; they may sew sealskin patches therefore on worn-out boot soles, but must not steep them in the stream. Whether it is permissible to make new sealskin shoes on the land, the shoes that are worn in winter over deerskin socks, I am not quite certain. At all events, a woman refused to make me a pair one autumn when she was preparing my other winter clothes, though she promised to make them after we migrated out on to the ice.

It is possible that the prohibition against the sewing of new deerskin clothes on the ice during the dark days of winter also had some connection originally with this differentiation between products of the sea and of the land. At the present time, however, the taboo is in force for very little more than a month, since the natives are usually

still sewing on the coast when the sun disappears, and do not migrate out on to the ice until later. The sun is visible again in the middle of January, after which time they may sew as many new clothes on the ice as they wish. Old clothes may be patched at any season of the year. The women would even make new clothes for us all through the dark days, provided that they were allowed to sew them at our station on the land. This may possibly be another instance, like the repairing of boots at the salmon creeks, where necessity has forced the Eskimos to modify the full application of a taboo that in its origin was much more general and far reaching."

1: Jenness--184 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 784

"Certain other taboos may be mentioned here, although they probably arose from different causes. Stone lamps and pots must not be made during the winter: (1) nor must cottonwood be burnt then, otherwise the weather will grow very cold. There is an idea, I imagine, that dislodging stones of any kind is liable to have this effect; it will be remembered that the Bathurst inlet natives gave this as their reason for not cooking on the ice any deer-meat that had been cached under stones. Cat's cradles are tabooed at most seasons of the year; it is only during the dark days when the sun cannot see them that the natives are allowed to play the game, for the sun may come down and tickle them at any other time, as tradition says it tickled a man long ago. The taboo is not very rigidly observed, however. The natives taught me some figures in the summer, although they took the precaution to close the door of the tent so that the sun could not see them. Some natives believe in a special spirit of cat's cradles that punishes them if they violate the taboo. (2) Mr. Stefansson says that it is only

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"1. Cf. Boas, Bulletin, A. M. H. N., [sic] Vol. XV. p. 149."

"2. More details concerning the superstitions relating to cat's cradles will be found in a volume of Eskimo Cat's Cradles to be published in one of the later reports of this series."

during the dark days that the natives tell stories, (3) but Ikpakhuak and his people had no hesitation about narrating them in the summer. There is a curious regulation about dances; they must never be held out of doors, lest the songs of the natives should be wafted abroad and the singers die. Throwing the scrapings from deerskins on to the floor of a snow hut is alleged to be tabooed, though the natives frequently do it. Farther east the Netsilingmiut are said to have a taboo against making new knives on the ice before the young seals are born, but the Coronation gulf Eskimos have no scruples in this respect. Avranna on one occasion refused to allow his dog to eat any part of the skin or meat of a rabbit that he had shot, saying that it was 'dry meat' and the dog would fall ill and die. It may have been a taboo, or only a particular fancy of his own."

"3. Anthrop. Papers, A. M. N. H., Vol. XIV, pt. I, p. 244."

1: Jenness--185
116, 784, 177

(1913-16) 1922

Copper Eskimo

"Mr. Stefansson's western Eskimos were responsible for the introduction of a new custom in 1910. They told the Copper Eskimos that if they did not cut off a fragment from every skin they sold to the white men to be taken out of the country, the animals would follow the skins and leave the country also. This applied particularly to the caribou, the natives said, which for this reason had almost disappeared from Alaska and the Mackenzie river delta. Hence some of the Copper Eskimos now cut a corner from each deerskin garment and an ear from each skin that they sell to the white men, lest their country too should be denuded of its game."

1: Jenness--185
116, 784

(1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo

"Mr. Stefansson says that in Coronation gulf every man, woman and child is forbidden to eat the muskrat. In another place he says that 'the Akulliakattangmiut and others kill a few muskrats, but they use neither the skins nor meat, but only use the tails for charms.' (2) The only place where muskrats are found is in the vicinity of Great Bear lake, and even there it is probably only within recent years that they have made their appearance; I very much doubt therefore whether the Copper Eskimos have any real taboo in regard to them."

"2. Anthrop. Papers, A.M.N.H., Vol. XIV, pt. I, pp. 244 and 59."

1: Jenness--185
116, 784, 224

(1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo

"The Eskimos must be just as careful in their conduct when the caribou are migrating south in the fall as when the salmon are migrating up stream in the spring. Higilak checked me from throwing a marrow bone to a dog one day, saying that it was tabooed in the place where the deer had been killed. I saw Ikpakhuak do the same thing a few days later, and when I told him of Higilak's objection he said that the bones he had given his dog were from caribou killed a long way off (actually it was about five miles), and that only the bones of caribou killed in the immediate vicinity were under the ban. In skinning such caribou it is forbidden to cut off the ears at the roots, as is done at other seasons of the year; the skin must be pulled off them. None of the contents of the stomach, again must be allowed to escape and taint the ground in the path the caribou are taking, kalgini, otherwise the shades of the dead Eskimos, it was said, would be offended and keep the deer away. For the same reason Higilak would not make me a deerskin dog harness at this period, but waited until the migration was over. Ikpakhuak had bad luck in hunting one day, and Higilak discovered through her familiar spirit that she had been sewing too much deerskin clothing, while Ikpakhuak had also been at fault by hammering too much on the stones when loosening them for caches, neither of which things should be done to excess on the path of the migration. (1)"

"1. I do not know whether any of these taboos are observed in the spring while the caribou are migrating north."

1: Jenness--185-186 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 784

"Mr. Stefansson's discussion of aglirktok, again, the condition wherein an individual labours under a taboo with regard to certain things, is much more applicable to the Alaskan and Mackenzie river Eskimos than to those of Coronation gulf. I hardly know what the word would imply to the Copper Eskimos, for I never heard them use it. Its derivative, aglenaktok, however, is almost daily in their mouths, and there can be no doubt as to its meaning. It is a prohibition against doing something, for example against cooking salmon on the sea ice. If they disobey, the supernatural powers which surround them -- the shades of the dead, inyuin tarrait, or the spirits, ornrait --will surely be wroth and punish them. How the prohibitions arose in the first case they do not know, but they are binding nevertheless on every human being. Taboos binding on particular individuals are common enough, but they are only temporary restrictions due to special circumstances; a sick man, for example, will be prohibited from eating certain foods. They are weaker taboos that issue as a rule from the injunctions of some shaman, and last no longer than the patient's illness, and not always as long as that; sometimes, indeed, a native will disregard them altogether. They really have more resemblance to the 'taboos' of our medical men when they forbid their patients certain foods. Thus the shamans [186] frequently forbid all sewing the day after they have held

their séances, and tell the people it is taboo, ag enangman, and that they will die if they disobey; but if the particular shaman be a man of little repute the women will often disregard his command and sew as usual. There seems to be a tendency, indeed, among the Copper Eskimos to limit restrictions and taboos as far as possible; they say themselves that they do many things now that were forbidden in former days. Certainly they have no such intricate and far-reaching system of taboo as Mr. Stefansson describes, however true his remarks may be of the natives farther west."

1: Jenness--188-189
116, 776, 784

(1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo

"Kannakapfaluk has other powers besides this one of hoarding the seals. She can send bad weather in winter, and so keep the Eskimos indoors till they starve; or she can break up the ice and drown them. Long ago she used to put people inside the breast of her coat and crush them to death. There were many taboos that the Eskimos of olden times had to observe, the natives say, but the majority of them have now been quietly dropped. Occasionally, however, in stormy weather the shamans will revive one or two for a short period. The two that should never be violated are the prohibitions against sewing new deerskin clothing on the ice during the weeks when the sun never rises, and cooking on the ice deer-meat that was obtained in the preceding summer and fall. [189] These taboos are rarely, if ever, violated by the natives of Dolphin and Union strait and of west Coronation gulf as long as they are actually living on the sea ice, although they may sometimes disregard them when their huts are built so near the shore that it is doubtful whether ice or gravel lies under the floor.

In Bathurst inlet the myth of Kannakapfaluk as told by the shaman Ilatsiak is slightly different. (1) There are two women living under the sea, one of whom, Arnakapfaluk,

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(1) Cf. Boas, Bulletin A. M. N. H., Vol. XV, p. 492. For other versions of the Sedna myth see Miss Wardle in Am. Anthropologist, N. S., Vol. II, 1900, pp. 568-580."

is very big, while the other woman, who may be her daughter -- Ilatsiak had forgotten her name --is much smaller. Two men live with them, Ikparyuak and Hitkoktak, and all the seals are gathered in their hut where the smaller of the two women keeps guard over them. The women would like to keep them away from the Eskimos altogether, and are therefore perpetually quarrelling with the men, who are friendly towards the Eskimos and would let them kill all the seals they need. Arnakapfaluk, whose hair streams above and behind her whenever a blizzard is raging, is especially wroth if the Eskimo women sew too much during the time that the sun is absent. When seals are scarce the shamans hold a séance in the dance-house, and after singing the incantation given above they haul Arnakapfaluk up to the surface, when the small woman down below immediately throws out some of the seals for the Eskimo hunters to kill later.

It is worth noting that among these Bathurst inlet natives there is no rigid prohibition against sewing new deerskin clothing during the dark days of winter; the women are allowed to sew provided they keep within reasonable limits. The reason given by the local natives was that the sea ice is much more solid in their region than it is farther west, where strong currents open up huge cracks even in mid-winter. It is possible that we have here an example of a taboo, based on or upheld by fear, dropping out as soon as that fear is removed."

(1908-1912) 1914

Copper Eskimo

[JMR: When the people move inland in May no blubber is taken along on account of taboo restrictions.]

2: Stefansson--128 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 784, 787

"It is common that if a man is sick or has poor success in hunting or if there is any other fact or condition that he wants to change he applies to a shaman to find out what he shall do to attain his ends. The shaman will usually after the performance of suitable ceremonial rites of the summoning of his familiar spirit find out that some hitherto unsuspected thing is really aglernaktok to the man in question and he announces this fact. It may be that the man has been fond of eating the fat at the back of the eye of a caribou and he is told that this is aglernaktok [JMR: i.e., taboo] to him and will remain so until he is full grown, until he is married, until his son kills his first caribou, or up to the consummation of any similar thing. In a few cases it is discovered that a man is aglirktok for life with reference to one or more things."

2: Stefansson--128 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 784, 561

"It is a general rule that more prohibitions fall upon the young than upon the old and upon women than upon men. A child will outgrow certain prohibitions by the mere passing of years and attainment of stature. Others he leaves behind him through the accomplishment of something such as the winning of a race, the killing of a bear, or the attainment of perfection in the art of snowhouse building or kayak paddling. Other prohibitions are left behind when the persons in question become the parents of children. This is more especially true of women. There are other prohibitions, however, that fall upon the parent at the birth of a child so that the total number of prohibitions may remain unaltered or may even be increased."

2: Stefansson--300-301 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
117, 262, 784

"May 12. Near Prince Albert Sound. Food Taboos. Hunting with Hupgok last summer was a young man (B. tells), Kamoarīok (Kogluktok) who forbade anybody to break for marrow bones of caribou he had killed. Both ends must be sawed off to get the marrow. This was because 'caribou might all leave the country, if the bones of any he had killed were broken for marrow.' This man would break in the ordinary way bones of caribou killed by anyone else. He was the only one last summer who, so far as any of us learned, put restrictions on manner of eating marrow. B. says in his place he heard of people who had similar restrictions as to breaking marrow [301] bones. When B. was young he had pain in his index finger. The doctor then told him that until he was a grown man he must not eat fish roe or he would quickly die. B. kept restriction some years but broke it before grown up. None of his people would eat ptarmigan heads with seal oil for fear of going blind."

"Arnakap^{s}ha'luk: the big, bad woman, is the origin of all taboo. Of all the spirits, people are most afraid of her. She lives on a rock at the bottom of the sea in a little bubble. There she lives with her husband and a small child. She is sovereign over all the sea beasts and therefore is particularly feared in winter, when the ice comes and sealing begins.

Should it happen that people break their taboo -- she is especially touchy about unclean women -- she gathers up all the women's sewing things and the men's work and covers the seals over with them so that they cannot get out. All the sea beasts can be hidden under her side-platform, and they are shut up there when a taboo has been broken, the space under the side-platform then being blocked up with the work that was done under the taboo. This does not mean literally the sewing materials or the implements or tools that the men have worked with, but simply the souls of these things. The materials remain with the people and they do not notice that their souls are being piled up in the house of the Sea Woman. But suddenly hunting fails, and then the people can only be saved if a shaman forces [MPK: Sea Woman] up to the top of the sea.

It is said that whenever people are in need and sit in darkness because they have no blubber for their lamps, the lamp in the house of the Sea Woman goes out too. This means that she herself will feel it when people begin to suffer. It is believed that, in her passion, she desires the same troubles as those the people have brought upon themselves on account of their disobedience. This belief is peculiar to the Umingmaktôrmiut.

The manner of invoking her is this: all the people of the village gather in a qag^{s}je out on the ice. When all are there, the shaman comes in and makes a hole inside the hut with a snow-beater. This hole must be to the right of the entrance opening. Over this small [25]hole is laid a caribou-skin jacket belonging to a man who is closely associated with the shaman and a good friend of his. The shaman then gets on his knees under the jacket, his elbows resting on the floor, and gazes fixedly into the hole made by the snow-beater. This hole is just like a seal's breathing hole, and the idea is that [MPK: Sea Woman] should come up through it. As soon as the shaman's preparations get to this stage, all those in the qag^{s}je join in the famous hymn that is to rise with irresistible power from inside the people like a nivjalu't: a religious song of the same kind as a magic song. It is sung in a monotonous, slow and very solemn melody with the following words:

Hymn for summoning up from the deep. [MPK: The interlinear Eskimo text has been omitted.]

Great woman down there
Will she, I wonder, feel a desire to move?
Great woman down there
Will she, I wonder, feel a desire to move?

Will she, I wonder, feel a desire to move?
Come out, you, down there,
Come out, you, down there!
Those who live above you, it is said,
Call you
To see you, savage and snappish,
Come out, you down there."

3: Rasmussen--36 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 784

"In this chapter, as in those to follow, I have adhered to the statements made by the shamans named in the foregoing. I repeat, that especial weight has been attached to recording all the customs that are peculiar to the Umingmaktôrmiut, whereas the broad outlines in all matters of religion are the same as among the Netsilik Eskimos.

Hêq the shaman summed up his view of life in the following brief creed: [MPK: rendered in native language-not reproduced for file]

Netsit expressed himself in practically the same way, but, despite the similarity, I reproduce his words too because these introductory explanations are the foundation of their religious ideas:

'Among us, people usually refrain from certain things and observe certain customs because they are afraid of hila: the spirit of the weather or air, who is also called qakimna: the one up there, niptailAq: falling snow, anin'ailAq: the reason why one cannot get out of house or tent. If people did not keep to these customs the woman who guards the seals at the bottom of the sea would get the idea that hila was offended at her, and she would then hide the seals under her side-platform, so that man would have no animals to hunt.'

This idea is peculiar, because it makes hila a chief of whom the Sea Spirit is afraid and therefore holds in reverence."

3: Rasmussen--37-38 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo -1-3
116, 784, 225

"No woman may do any sewing on the day her husband catches a seal. Before the seal has been flensed no sewing must be done at all in the house to which it is taken. When it has been flensed women may usually sew in that house on the same day, but the wife of the man who caught it must wait till the next day, unless its head has been boiled, as this exempts her from the taboo.

As long as a seal lies unflensed in a house the rime must not be scraped off the pane of ice that forms the window. Indeed, one must always be careful about rime on ice panes in conjunction with seals; for instance the rime must not fall on the floor at a place where there is the blood of a seal. If it does happen, the man who caught the seal will lose his next quarry. In fact, the rime must not be scraped off at all as long as there is fresh seal blood in the house. Only when all the blood has been taken out through the passage may this be done if necessary.

As long as un unflensed seal is in the house the platform skin must not be shaken out over the floor; nor must anyone rearrange the plaited willow twigs that form the under-layer. Care must be taken that no oil drips on to the floor, and no work may be done in iron, wood or stone.

People hunting the seal from snow huts on the sea ice must not work in soapstone. They say: The weather or the blizzard --helpless because of this soapstone one usually bewares of out on the sea ice; for there is much smoke or fog in it (the soapstone).

When living at a place where the caribou cross the water, and the site has been used as a camping ground for years past, with the result that the vegetation is very luxuriant on account of human manure, women must not sew seal skin unless they have first laid a small unstitched kamik in miniature under a stone, kamik and stone being bound together by means of a thong. This done, they may sew seal skin provided they go a short distance away from the tent.

A seal must have water as soon as it is brought inside a house. The water is allowed to fall in drops into its mouth. This is an offering to the seal.

A boy's first seal must be flensed by all the women of the village; his mother, however, simply binds her waistbelt round the seal's head and lifts it, for the head may only fall to her. While the women are flensing the carcase they have to repeat again and again: 'Move further away, move further away', pushing at one another and each trying to get the largest pieces. This race to get a part of a boy's kill brings luck. A boy whose first seal [38] is handled in this manner is called : One with flensing pieces; for it is not every boy's kill that goes through this treatment.

There are various customs besides. The first kill of some boys must not be flensed at once, but must lie in the house for some time, over by the side platform; this only means a few hours, however--never the whole night. They have a special expression for such a seal: 'the one that is laid across (i. e. the floor), as it has to be laid pointing out

from the side platform, and not out from the main platform as it would be if it had to be flensed at once."

3: Rasmussen--38 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 294, 784

"Seal sinews are never used for sewing purposes, as they are so short that people say the seals are ashamed of them. The Puivlermiut form an exception to this rule, however, for in former times they used to make their seal-skin clothing with seal sinews."

3: Rasmussen--38 [2] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 264, 784

"Cod must never be eaten together with the blubber of a bearded seal, nor blubber that has been stored in bags of seal skin since the previous spring."

3: Rasmussen--38 [3] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 294, 784

"Among the Umingmaktôrmiut there is no taboo against making garments of caribou skin in autumn, as among the Aivilingmiut, Iglulingmiut, Caribou Eskimos and Netsilingmiut. I made exhaustive enquiries as to this among several old people, so that there can be no misunderstanding. This of course does not mean that the people start making clothes on any large scale while living in the tents while the caribou are still migrating. For practical reasons they wait to do so until they have moved into the snow huts; there the making of winter clothing goes on. In comparison it will be remembered how the Netsilingmiut went about in rags right up to the time when they moved into the snow huts."

3: Rasmussen--38 [4] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 225, 784

"The reason why the Umingmaktôrmiut do not take things so strictly in this respect is that the ice from which they hunt the seal is not destroyed by the currents and therefore is not considered to be dangerous. And what is more, their sealing grounds are for the greater part of the year up in the fjords, where the ice is never liable to drift out to sea; this has given them a feeling of security and slackened their respect for this taboo, which elsewhere is so carefully observed."

3: Rasmussen--38 [5] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 294, 784

"The only strict taboo against sewing applies to animals with the coat of hair that is called kaŋalalgit: animals with uncast coat, which have been shot in spring while there was still ice on the sea. These skins may be made into clothing before the new ice forms, but never after.

Nor is there any strict taboo against sewing even new skins during migration time in spring and summer, or against working in stone or with stone during that period -- a taboo that is observed at all times among the Netsilingmiut."

3: Rasmussen--38-39 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 252, 784

"Fresh caribou meat must never lie on the side platform together [39] with seal meat or salmon trout. This does not apply to old, putrid caribou meat or dried meat.

There is no special taboo against cooking caribou meat over driftwood, which is not allowed in some places; drift wood is considered as belonging to the salt water, which is not the caribou's own element. Nor is there anything against cooking caribou meat by means of blubber or old caribou bones; elsewhere this is said to offend the souls of the killed animals."

"When a caribou killed by an arrow during a death taboo is to be cut up or eaten, care must be taken that no bone is broken. At the place where the carcase is cut up an offering must be made of small pieces of the kidneys, liver, belly meat, intestines, spleen and tongue, and the people must say: Let the spirits of the deep down there eat. They make this sacrifice in order that the spirits may be happy and get fresh animals ready for catching, or bring other game to the hunter.

When the animal is to be cut up a small piece of skin is cut from the groin. This is then placed on the ground under a stone and the following ritual repeated: here is something that can be nearest your body, something that can be soft and warm against your body; give me instead a caribou that I can bring down.

All the bones are only collected and hidden in the event that the man who killed the caribou is under a taboo.

Those who skin a caribou must never cut away the skin round the eyes, nor the skin round the end of the penis. Otherwise the soul of the caribou will feel shame, and this will bring bad luck to the hunter who killed it. For the same reason one must never cut away the skin from the outermost part of the caudal vertebra of a musk ox.

Should a hunter see two caribou fighing, [sic] with their antlers caught together, he must tighten his waistbelt and his kamik laces, and also fasten his hood tight round his neck after having thrown it back. The bulls then will not run away, and he can go right up to them and kill them. This is exactly the opposite of what one must do among the

Iglulingmiut.

The first time a boy kills a caribou or seal, his mother must pretend to weep and wrestle with her son over the animal. Presumably this is done to give the impression to the soul of the animal that the mother is sorry it was killed. This sympathy will make it so pleased that it will often allow itself to be killed by the same boy later in life.

They know of no special taboo against white caribou, the so-called pukit, which by the way are very rare. Netsit once shot one with bow and arrow. It was very fat, and without further formality they [40] began to eat it; but the meat was almost uneatable, qijorhúnnigtorâluk: it tasted of piss, it being rutting time."

"When a man is sealing in a camp out on the sea ice, his wife must never cut up a caribou.

If a snow hut is to be deserted, the head of a newly-shot caribou--picked clean and well gnawed--must be laid out in the snow some distance from sledge and foot marks, its snout pointing in the direction in which new game will be sought.

Caribou and seal meat may be eaten on the same day.

If a polar bear or a black bear is caught, there must be no sewing, and no cutting of peat for sledge shoeing, for four days if it is a he bear and five days if it is a she bear. The skin is not hung up as is the custom elsewhere; nothing particular is done to it unless it is a she bear, in which case sewing needles are laid on it as an offering to its soul.

During a death taboo the dogs may only eat flesh and never gnaw the bones of game animals.

Under ordinary circumstances there is otherwise no taboo against dogs gnawing the bones of caribou, even if killed with the bow and arrow; the head is the only part the dogs must never have.

Dogs must never eat the flesh of a hare, for then they will become thin and their coat poor.

Salmon trout must never be eaten where they are caught, i. e. at the hole in the ice if the lake is covered, or alongside the open river. If one wants to eat it must be at some

distance away.

Great care must be taken never to sever the trachea of a salmon trout.

In spring, when the ice on the lakes is beginning to break up, seal blubber must never be eaten on the same day as trout. This does not apply in spring and winter.

If salmon trout are to be cooked in the same pot as seal or caribou meat, the pot must be very carefully washed and a little of the soot from it must be rubbed on the inside.

All footwear to be used when fishing for trout must be soled with seal skin, never with bearded-seal skin."

"APPENDIX I

ESKIMO SUPERSTITIONS CONCERNING STRING FIGURES

Among nearly all Eskimo tribes there were various superstitions concerning string figures, although for the most part they have disappeared under the influence of Europeans. From Kotzebue sound, in Alaska, to Kent peninsula, at the eastern end of Coronation gulf, there was a taboo against playing the game except in the winter, when the sun no longer rose above the horizon. The Eskimos of Alaska and the Mackenzie delta have long since abandoned this taboo, and the game has become a pastime for every season of the year; but in Coronation gulf it was observed, though not very rigidly, down to the year 1916. Thus a woman showed me some new figures in the summer of 1915, but remarked that we ought to postpone playing the game until the winter. In the same summer a girl who was showing me some figures carefully closed the door of the tent in order that the sun might not shine in on us; for the Eskimos of this region base their taboo on a legend that the sun once beheld a man playing cat's cradles and tickled him. In the autumn of 1915 my half-breed interpreter was making some figures before the sun had disappeared, and an old man accused him of causing all the blizzards that were raging at the time. Dr. R. M. Anderson informs me that while some Coppermine river

natives were making string figures in his tent during the spring of 1910 a curious noise was heard outside, and the Eskimos immediately laid aside their strings and filed quietly outside. His Alaskan interpreter then told him they thought an evil spirit had come amongst them because they were violating the taboo.

This last superstition resembles the Alaskan belief, that there is a definite spirit associated with string figures. The same superstition was evident again in a shamanistic seance that took place in Dolphin and Union strait during the winter of 1915. (1) It was not at all prominent among the Copper Eskimos, how- [182B] ever and there is a strong probability that it was introduced by some western natives within comparatively recent times. In Alaska, on the other hand, many stories are told about this spirit of string figures, which could even become the guardian spirit of a shaman. It was thought to reveal its presence by a peculiar sound like the crackling of dry skins, and it made string figures with its own intestines or with an invisible cord. At Cape Prince of Wales the Eskimos believed that Opening A would drive it away, if the proper words were uttered; but in other parts of Alaska there was a special figure for the purpose. (1) A mere pretence at making the figure was enough, if no string was available; but if the

"1. See 'The Life of the Copper Eskimos,' Vol. XII, Part I of this series, p. 203.
1. See No. XXIII, Two Labrets."

movements were not made every inmate of the house would be paralyzed and die.

The following story about this spirit was narrated by a woman of Cape Prince of Wales:

'On the site of Tin City (a deserted tin mine near Cape Prince of Wales) there once lived a boy who spent all his evenings in making string figures. One evening, as he was amusing himself with his usual pastime, the spirit of cat's cradles entered the house, drew forth its own intestine and began to make the figures also. The mother of the boy snatched the string from her son's hands, exclaiming, 'I told you not to be always playing that game.' Sitting down on the floor opposite the spirit she made Opening A, unmade it, made it again, again unmade it, then, with the exclamation 'I've raced you,' quickly made the figure for the third time and flourished it in the intruder's face. The spirit shuffled nearer the door, and the woman shuffled after it, each striving to outdo the other in manipulating the string. At last the spirit vanished through the door--the woman's presence of mind had saved both her son and herself.'

From Alak, a North Alaskan Eskimo who lived on the Noatak river during his youth, came these two stories:

'The Noatak river Eskimos once constructed a dance-house and gathered inside to practice their dances before sending out runners to invite their neighbours to the festival. Another boy and myself were sent to bring in more food, and while we were absent

some of the children created a great uproar, despite the warnings of the older people. Everything seemed normal when I returned, but suddenly there was a sharp report outside the house, and a noise like the crackling of dry skins. The sound travelled around the house until it reached the door, which was merely an opening covered by a curtain of skin. Presently a stream of mist began to pour in, and behind it, concealed by the mist, the spirit of string figures entered the room. The lamps at first flared brightly, then slowly grew dimmer and dimmer. We sat motionless, paralyzed with fear. One by one the lamps expired and no one stirred, although now and then an old man would cry, 'Will no one go out?' The house grew darker and darker, and my grandfather, who was sitting on one of the benches, called me over to his side. I ran quickly, for I was very frightened, and my grandfather placed me on his knee. Nearly all the lamps had expired when an old man suddenly rushed outside with one of them and raced around the house. The air outside extinguished his lamp, but the people re-lit it, and then lit all the other lamps that had expired. The spirit disappeared, and everything seemed normal again; but presently the old man's hands grew very cold and he sat dumb and motionless. His brother asked him what was the matter, but he could not answer. Then some shamans who were present invoked their magic powers, and in the morning the old man was able to move about again, although his speech did not return to him until some time afterwards. Had he not carried out one of the lamps before they were all extinguished every one of us would have been paralyzed and died. [183B]

'I knew also of two men who lived in another settlement on the Noatak river. They did not believe in a spirit of string figures, but said they originated from two stars, aγγuK, which are visible only when the sun has returned after the winter night. One of these men was inside a dance-house when a flood of mist poured in through the curtain door. His two companions rapidly made and unmade the figure 'Two Labrets,' uttering the usual formula that goes with it; but the mist kept pouring in. Presently it cleared a little, and between the door and themselves they discerned the form of an old man who was moving his hands as though he were making string figures; nor could the men drive him away, despite the persistency with which they made 'Two Labrets.' The lamp was slowly expiring when the sceptic caught it up, raced around the house with it and returned inside again. The figure vanished as soon as he rushed towards the door. Both the sceptic's companions were shamans, and by their magic they saved the man from any evil consequences.'

From Aqsiataq, a Colville river Eskimo, comes the following account:

'I was a young boy at the time, and staying inside the house with my mother. We heard

a loud crackling sound outside as though a number of dried skins were shaking in the wind. My mother immediately ran outside and raced around the house. When she came in again she told me that the sound had been made by the spirit of string figures. We listened again for a time, but the noise was not repeated.

'Certain shamans can control this spirit. I once saw a shaman extend his hands as though he were holding out a string figure, yet no cord could be seen on his fingers. Some of the men laid their belts over the invisible cord, and their belts remained suspended in the air.'

The Eskimos of Hudson bay have a slightly different belief from their kinsmen in Alaska. According to Captain Comer (1) the natives of Iglulik play cat's cradles in the fall when the sun is going south, to catch it in the meshes of the string and so prevent its disappearance. Again, the same authority states (2) that on the west coast of Hudson bay 'boys must not play cat's cradle, because in later life their fingers might become entangled in the harpoon-line. They are allowed to play this game when they become adults. Two cases were told of hunters who lost their fingers in which the cause was

"1. Boas, F., The Eskimos of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay. Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XV, part 1, p. 151.
2. Id., p. 161."

believed to be their having played cat's cradle when young. Such youths are thought to be particularly liable to lose their fingers in hunting ground-seal.' Among the Copper Eskimos, as well as farther west, young and old play alike; indeed the parents take a special delight in teaching their young children."

11: Stefansson--265 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 784

"It is a theory which has been much in vogue among ethnologists that the fundamental reason back of the system of Eskimo taboos is that they are intended to keep the sea industries away from the land industries and the sea animals away from the land animals; the theory being that the Eskimo were once inland dwellers and accustomed only to land animals and hunting methods suited to the land, and that when they came down to the sea they found its requirements and its animal life so different from that of the land to which they were used that they conceived it necessary to keep the two rigidly apart and that taboos were therefore established. We have elsewhere pointed out that the western Eskimo consider that sudden death, pestilence, or famine will follow upon the sewing of caribou skin garments with a certain number of days after one of the large sea mammals has been killed. It is true among many tribes of Eskimo that caribou skin garments must not be made or mended on the sea ice. The flesh of caribou and of seals must not, among some tribes, be eaten at the same time, nor must the flesh of caribou be eaten on the sea at all. Under other circumstances when both may be eaten, they will have to be cooked in separate utensils and certain ceremonies have to be performed to cancel, as it were, the evil effects that might otherwise ensue."

11: Stefansson--266 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 262, 784

"Here, however, everything was different. Not only did these seal hunters engage in the cutting up of the animals, but the meat was taken home and cooked in the same pots in which seal meat had been cooked and eaten; and not only the same day that seal meat had been eaten and the seals had been killed, but the seal meat and caribou meat were actually eaten at the same meal by the same individuals. One old man, however, said that he knew that it was not right to boil caribou meat in the same pot in which seal meat had been boiled unless you suspended the pot by a different string. His wife therefore took off the old greasy string which had served as a bale for the stone pot, braided a new sinew string, and swung the pot by that over the lamp. These Eskimo have various taboos relating to seal and to caribou, but none of those that I have seen in use or heard of, except in the case of this one incident of the string, had any tendency to keep the two apart."

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

ings for us, stand shyly inside the doorway, kicking their feet together restlessly as though knocking off the snow. Every one is tired after the day's journey, and as soon as the meal is ended strips off his clothes, tucks them under his head for a pillow, and glides into a sleeping-bag of caribou fur. Mrs. Light is the last to retire, for she still has some small duties to perform. She calls in the dogs from the passageway, one by one, throws them a few strips of blubber, and drives them out with the snow-duster, a short stick for beating the snow from our garments. Then she adjusts the lamp for the night, turns our boots and mittens so that they will dry on both sides, fits the snow-block into the doorway to keep out the cold air and the dogs, and slips quickly into her husband's "double" bag of caribou fur. Most of the inmates sleep with their mouths open, and their loud snores reverberating inside the hut drown the less resonant notes of the dogs in the passage.

Leaving Putulik, I rejoined my late acquaintances on Victoria Island. The sun no longer climbed above the horizon, and the "day" was limited to the twilight hours from 9:30 A.M. to 2:30 P.M.; but a bright moon lit up the trail for me during the last three hours of the journey. The tribe was still living in the same settlement, for the women had not completed all the new fur clothes their families required during the winter months, and it would violate one of their most rigid taboos to finish the sewing on the sea-ice.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

on the first occasion by holding a private party at which they shared the white man's food—tea, hard bread, and chocolate. When I left them in charge again the following day they immediately trimmed the lamp, placed a pot of water over the flame to boil, and set out the cups for another afternoon tea.

These Eskimos of Dolphin and Union Strait forbade any cooking of caribou meat on the sea during the winter months, believing that it would cause the ice under their settlement to upheave and engulf them. Eskimos living farther to the eastward were less scrupulous, and often cooked caribou meat when they were camped on bay ice that was not likely to crack under the stress of a winter storm. But a strong current passes through Dolphin and Union Strait, and new cracks and pressure ridges make their appearance as late as the end of January. The regulation was therefore rigidly observed by the local Eskimos, who often warned us against infringing it at Putulik, even though their settlement was only a few yards from the shore. Palaiyak, my western Eskimo, who had outgrown most of these superstitions, was more annoyed than I that we should be compelled to eat our venison raw, or else carry it to Bernard Harbour, where our house was built on solid ground. We avoided the regulation in the following winter by a subterfuge. The Eskimos then built their settlement closer to the beach, and the hut in which we were living had rock, not ice,

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
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beneath the snow-floor, making the prohibition technically invalid. We cooked our caribou meat with easy consciences, and, when the natives upbraided us, pointed to a tiny patch of gravel exposed beneath our feet. Some accepted our verdict, most of them still disapproved; but by that time they were better acquainted with the strange ways of the white man, and believed that we could do with impunity what they could not attempt without disaster.

The village dance-house formed as usual the forecourt of two snow-huts, which kept it at an even temperature with their two large blubber-lamps. One hut was occupied by Ikpuckhuak, the elderly man who had come to my rescue when his fellow-tribesman tried to carry off my knife. Ikpuckhuak means the "Dirty One"; but the name in no wise reflected on his personal characteristics, for the Eskimos were too familiar with the lack of water during seven months of the year to pay much attention to some of its consequences. Ikpuck, as I shall call him hereafter, was actually cleaner than most of his countrymen, provided one gives the word a rather broad interpretation; and his name was no more than an ancient family title which he inherited in childhood along with his other privileges.

We spent several pleasant evenings on his sleeping-platform, reclining comfortably on caribou robes and listening to the natives in the forecourt singing their

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where he had undertaken to remain five years; and of 797
the Eskimos and their customs he knew nothing. Although he had brought a Christian Eskimo from Alaska as interpreter he realized that he could accomplish little until he himself learned the language and understood the thoughts of the people. The interpreter was faithful and diligent, but unable to distinguish the essentials of Christianity from its trappings, so that his zeal sometimes outran his master's wishes. On his first Sunday at the Liston and Sutton Islands, [784]
before he was even acquainted with the people, he prohibited all sealing and sewing; consequently Ice-house objected to stitching a small rent in my mitten, saying that their own medicine-men often prohibited sewing when danger threatened, and that surely I did not wish to expose her to grave peril at the hands of some unknown but malignant power. I have no doubt that Girling believed in the proper observance of one day in seven, but it was not the first instruction he would have given to natives ignorant of a Supreme Deity, and with no word in their language for any number above six. A missionary should walk warily and circumspectly; before all else he should gain the confidence of his people, learn to speak their tongue, and understand the problems of their daily life. Girling had already begun this task. He was studying the language in every spare moment, and he visited with